

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0348

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC ON FIRST STEP
REDUCTION PROPOSAL

AT ITS OCT 23 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSED AND
APPROVED A SPECIAL REPORT TO THE NAC GIVING THE GROUP'S
PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE OCT 15 EASTERN FIRST STEP
REDUCTION PROPOSAL. THIS REPORT WILL BE DRAWN UPON,
DURING OCT 25 REPORT TO NAC, BY AD HOC GROUP TEAM
CHAIRLED BY LUXEMBOURG REP (WINTER). AHG REPORT READS
AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. AT THE INFORMAL MEETING OF 15 OCTOBER, THE SOVIET
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REPRESENTATIVE, AMBASSADOR KHLESTOV, PUT FORWARD A FORMAL

EASTERN PROPOSAL FOR FIRST STEP REDUCTIONS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS CONSTITUTED A FORMAL PROPOSAL BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, AND SPECIFIED THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) DURING 1975, REDUCTIONS WOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, NAMELY THE US, UK, FRG, BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS, LUXEMBOURG AND CANADA, AND OF THE SOCIALIST DIRECT PARTICIPANTS BY A TOTAL NUMBER OF 20,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING ARMAMENTS AND COMBAT EQUIPMENT.

(B) THE ARMED FORCES OF THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE REDUCED BY 10,000 MEN EACH. THOSE OF THE FRG AND POLAND "FOR INSTANCE", WOULD BE REDUCED BY 5,000 MEN EACH, WITH THE REMAINING 5,000-MAN REDUCTION TO BE SHARED AMONG THE REST OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON EACH SIDE.

(C) THE FORCE REDUCTIONS TO BE CARRIED OUT IN 1975 WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER: THOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND US WOULD BE CARRIED OUT DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR, AND THOSE OF THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR.

(D) THE REDUCTIONS PROPOSED FOR 1975 SHOULD BE FORMALISED IN A SEPARATE AGREEMENT AS AN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP. THIS INITIAL AGREEMENT WOULD CONTAIN AN OBLIGATION ON THE PART OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER, MORE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

(E) THE PROPOSAL WAS PUT FORWARD WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE BASIC POSITION OF THE EASTERN SIDE, WHICH THEY CONTINUED TO REGARD AS JUST AND EQUITABLE. AT THE INFORMAL MEETING ON 22 OCTOBER, HE ADDED THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES ON OTHER ISSUES.

2. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS, KHLESTOV CONFIRMED (WITH REFERENCE TO (A) ABOVE) THAT ALL TYPES OF FORCES IN THE AREA

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WOULD HAVE TO BE REDUCED - GROUND, AIR AND UNITS EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS; AND (WITH REFERENCE TO (B) ABOVE), STATED THAT OBLIGATIONS AS TO HOW MUCH EACH OTHER PARTICIPANT WOULD REDUCE OF THE REMAINING 5,000 MEN SHOULD BE CLEARLY STATED AND FIXED IN THE AGREEMENT. IN A SUBSEQUENT BILATERAL CONVERSATION WITH A WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE, STRULAK (POLAND) CONFIRMED THAT IT WAS THE EASTERN INTENTION THAT THE AGREEMENT SHOULD ESTABLISH SUB-CEILINGS FOR THE FORCES OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT.

(SEE HOWEVER 3 (B) BELOW). SINCE 15 OCTOBER EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE STATED THAT IT WAS NOT THEIR INTENTION TO ESTABLISH A SEPARATE SUB-CATEGORY FOR POLAND AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. PRESUMABLY AS AN INDUCEMENT TO ACCEPT THE EASTERN FIRST STEP REDUCTION PROPOSAL, KHLESTOV ON 22 OCTOBER REPEATEDLY INVITED THE WEST TO SUGGEST IMPROVEMENTS TO THE CONTENT OF THE PROPOSAL.

3. EXCEPT FOR THE PROVISION THAT THE FIRST STEP REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE COVERED BY A SEPARATE AGREEMENT, THIS LATEST EASTERN PROPOSAL IS SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME AS THE FIRST PART OF ARTICLE II OF THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENT OF 8 NOVEMBER 1973, PROVIDING FOR SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS IN A FIRST STEP. IT DIVERGES IN SOME RESPECTS FROM EASTERN IDEAS PRESENTED IN SUBSEQUENT INFORMAL MEETINGS. HOWEVER VIRTUALLY ALL THE ELEMENTS IN IT HAVE BEEN PRESENTED PREVIOUSLY IN SOME FORM:

PROVISION (A) IS THE SAME IN SUBSTANCE AS THAT PART OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE 8 NOVEMBER DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH RELATES TO SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS.

PROVISION (B) SETS FIGURES ON THE SOVIET SUGGESTION, MADE BY KHLESTOV DURING THE INFORMAL MEETING OF 18 JUNE, THAT THE EAST WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ALLOCATING A MAJOR PROPORTION OF SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS TO THE US AND USSR. IT IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE 8 NOVEMBER DRAFT AGREEMENT, WHICH DOES NOT SPECIFY HOW THE FIRST STAGE "SYMBOLIC" REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE ALLOCATED; BUT IT IS A RETROGRADE STEP WHEN COMPARED WITH KHLESTOV'S INDICATION IN THE INFORMAL MEETING OF 4 MARCH THAT SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS WOULD PERMIT THE IDEA OF NATIONAL CEILINGS TO BE DROPPED, AND THAT EACH GROUP OF COUNTRIES COULD DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES HOW THEY WOULD ALLOCATE THESE REDUCTIONS. (AT THAT TIME, KHLESTOV

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FROM US REP MBFR

EXPLAINED THAT THE ORIGINAL SOVIET INTENTION HAD BEEN THAT REDUCTIONS IN THE FIRST STAGE OF THE EASTERN DRAFT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE ALLOCATED ON A PRO RATA BASIS; AND HE SUBSEQUENTLY CONFIRMED THIS IN A PLENARY STATEMENT ON 21 MARCH.) WHEN TAXED WITH THIS ON 22 OCTOBER, KHLESTOV SAID THAT THE EAST HAD SPOKEN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSIDERING SUCH AN IDEA BUT HAD NOT AGREED TO IT. HE DID NOT HOWEVER REPUDIATE IT.

PROVISION (C) CLARIFIES AND EXPANDS KHLESTOV'S SUGGESTION IN THE INFORMAL OF 18 JUNE THAT THE USSR AND THE US "AND POSSIBLY SOME OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" MIGHT BEGIN REDUCTIONS BEFORE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, WITH ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS REDUCING BY THE END OF 1975.

PROVISION (D) DATES BACK TO SUGGESTIONS MADE BY KHLESTOV AT THE INFORMAL MEETING OF 4 MARCH THAT SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS
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COULD BE THE SUBJECT OF A SEPARATE AGREEMENT AND THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT MIGHT CONTAIN PROVISIONS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

NEGATIVE ASPECTS

4. THE PROPOSAL HAS THE FOLLOWING NEGATIVE ASPECTS:

(I) HAVING NOW FORMALISED THEIR EARLIER FIRST STEP PROPOSAL, THE EAST MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO SHOW FURTHER

FLEXIBILITY ON PHASING, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING.

(II) IT DOES NOT ADDRESS THE DISPARITIES IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND TANKS. THE PROPOSED NUMERICALLY EQUAL REDUCTIONS WOULD IN FACT INCREASE THE DISPARITIES IN PROPORTIONAL TERMS; AND THIS WORSENE SITUATION WOULD BE CODIFIED IN AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT.

(III) THERE IS NO ACCEPTANCE OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES AS THE GOAL FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE PROPOSAL WOULD, THEREFORE, SET AN UNACCEPTABLE PATTERN OF SYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS.

(IV) THE PROPOSED SOVIET REDUCTIONS WOULD NOT BE SUBSTANTIAL ENOUGH TO PROVIDE THE WEST WITH THE NECESSARY CONFIDENCE TO PROCEED WITH SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS.

(V) IT REITERATES IN OFFICIAL FORM THE REQUIREMENT THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD REDUCE IN A FIRST PHASE, AND THUS FAILS ADEQUATELY TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR ON THE ONE HAND AND THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON THE OTHER.

(VI) IT APPARENTLY ENVISAGES NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS. IT IS THUS A STEP BACKWARDS IN COMPARISON WITH EARLIER EASTERN INFORMAL INDICATIONS THAT A GLOBAL CEILING MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE FOR THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS.

(VII) AS EXPLAINED SUBSEQUENTLY BY THE EAST, IT WOULD INCLUDE AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, APPARENTLY IN PROPORTION TO THEIR SHARE IN THE ARMED FORCES OF EACH SIDE IN THE AREA.

(VIII) IT INCLUDES THE ARMS AND EQUIPMENT OF REDUCED FORCES ON BOTH SIDES, AND THUS PROVIDES NO COMPENSATION FOR GEOGRAPHICAL

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DISPARITIES.

(IX) IT MAKES NO PROVISION FOR ASSOCIATED MEASURES OF ANY KIND.

(X) IT SPECIFICALLY INCLUDES THE ARMED FORCES OF LUXEMBOURG, WHOSE OMISSION FROM FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS THE EAST SEEMED READY TO ACCEPT DURING THE SUMMER NEGOTIATING ROUND.

(XI) THE SEPARATE MENTION OF THE FRG AS DISTINCT FROM ANY OF THE OTHER NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IS A NEGATIVE FACTOR.

POSITIVE ASPECTS

5. THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL ARE:

(I) IT ACCEPTS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR ON THE ONE HAND AND THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON THE OTHER, IN THAT

(A) THE US AND USSR WOULD REDUCE FIRST, IF ONLY BY THE NARROWEST OF MARGINS;

(B) THE US AND USSR WOULD TAKE THE LARGEST SHARE OF THE REDUCTIONS ON THEIR RESPECTIVE SIDES (EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIET UNION WOULD TAKE NO MORE THAN ITS PRO RATA SHARE).

(II) IT PROVIDES FORMAL CONFIRMATION OF THE EARLIER EASTERN ADMISSION THAT SEPARATE PHASES OF REDUCTION COULD BE COVERED BY SEPARATE LINKED AGREEMENTS, WHICH IS A STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF THE ALLIED CONCEPT OF PHASING.

(III) HAVING PLACED A DETAILED INTERPREATION OF THEIR FIRST STEP PROPOSAL FORMALLY ON RECORD, THE EAST WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO REVERT TO A MORE NEGATIVE INTERPRETATION. THIS IS IMPORTANT, FOR EXAMPLE, AS REGARDS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN US/SOVIET FORCES AND OTHERS, WHICH THEY NEVERTHELESS IMMEDIATELY DENIED WHEN THE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES TRIED TO DRAW THIS INFERENCE FROM EASTERN STATEMENTS IN THE SUMMER ROUND. END TEXT.RESOR

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